2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Plate IV

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Contrasting types of Shilluk

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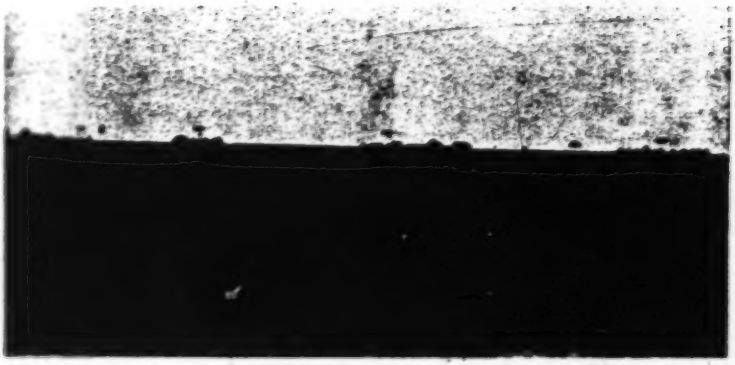

Shilluk villages from Nile

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

602 We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

606 (1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his " nakedness ". Among
● [291] a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this
606 objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that
835 there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *uwa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *uwa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *uwa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

606 It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as
607 *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father
607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may
583

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PLATE IX

778
346
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Dura-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

778
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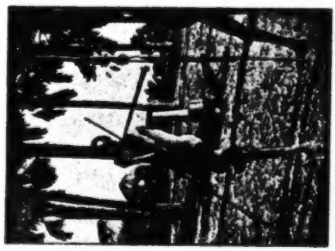
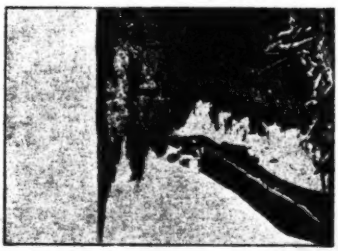
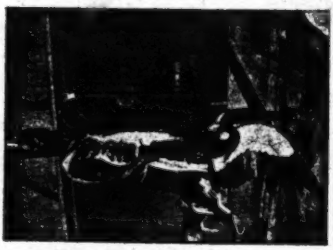
Fenikang, shrine to Deng

[See p. 88

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 · FJ23 Shilluk FJ23







1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

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[facing p.xxiv]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder.

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the elder women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[FACING p. XLVIII (A)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk Women in arms for a mock-fight, carrying clubs, spears and a "club-shield"

Two men in arms

A Shilluk Warrior withhtwo spears and a club; below knee strips of sheep-skin. Note the tattoings on the breast

[Facing p. lvii]

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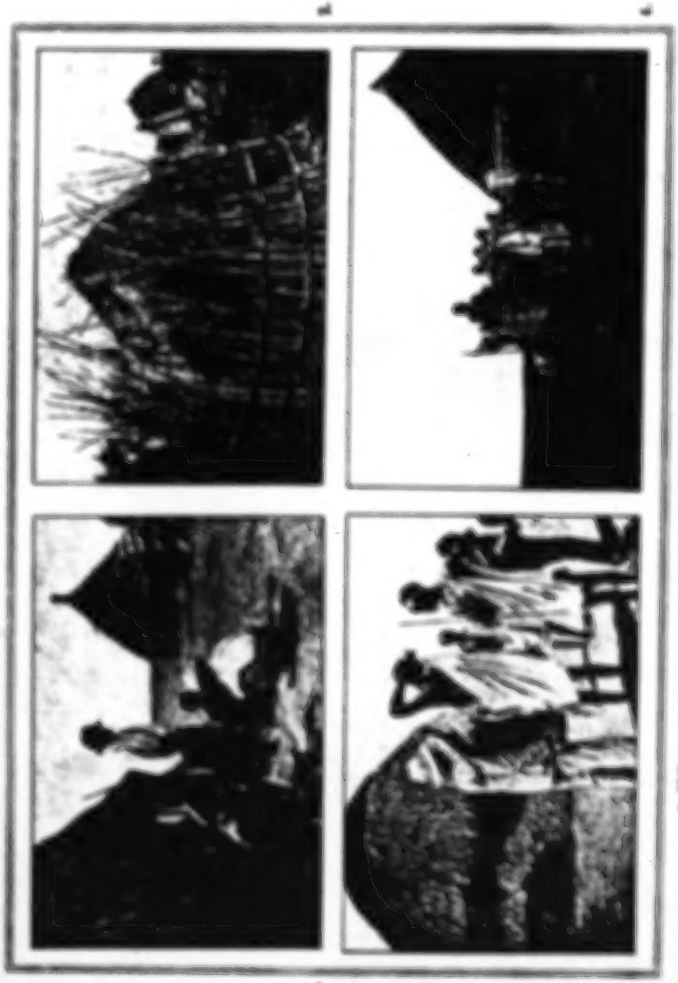
3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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[Facing p. 41]

463

bíjɛ́ ɛ́dídí who beats the small drum "*ɛ́dídí*".
bíjɛ́ gɛ́ɛ́ kí jɔ́ who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
bíjɛ́ tʊ́ɛ́ɛ́k who cups.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́t kí wɔ́ɔ́ who dresses the horn of cattle.
bíjɛ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́k who castrates bulls.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́jɔ́ who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.
bíjɛ́ kʊɲɛ́ɛ́ wɔ́ɔ́ the leader in singing.
bíjɛ́ kɛ́dɛ́ kí gɛ́ɛ́ who makes the dancing-sticks.
bíjɛ́ tɛ́gɛ́ kʊ́gʊ́ who makes chairs.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́ɲɛ́ who makes the neck supports or rests.
bíjɛ́ kɛ́bɛ́ lʊɔ́ɔ́ who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
bíjɛ́ tʊ́ɔ́y kɔ́ɔ́ lɛ́kɛ́ who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
bíjɛ́ tɛ́gɛ́ kí gɔ́kɛ́ dɔ́ɔ́ who makes mat-doors.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́kʊ́ɔ́y kí lɔ́ɔ́yɛ́ net-maker.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́kʊ́ɔ́y kí gɔ́ɔ́ door-maker.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́kʊ́ɔ́ɲ kí dɔ́ɔ́n salt-maker.
bíjɛ́ tʃɛ́ɛ́ gɛ́ɛ́n maker of iron bracelets.
bíjɛ́ fʊ́ɔ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɛ́ one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
bíjɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɲ tɔ́ɔ́lɛ́ wɔ́ɔ́ who makes the foundations of huts.
bíjɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ diver.
bíjɛ́ dɛ́ɛ́t kí yɛ́ɛ́ hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.
bíjɛ́ mɛ́ɛ́t hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.
bíjɛ́ ɛ́ɲɛ́ɛ́ fɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ hippo-huntsman.
ɔ́yíɲɛ́ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326
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dɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ hammer.
bʊ́ɲɛ́ɛ́ anvil.
tɛ́ɔ́yɛ́ɲʊ́ file.
dɔ́ɔ́ɲɛ́ bellows.
ɛ́kɛ́ɔ́ a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
dʒíɲɛ́ɲɛ́ thongs.
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ chisel.
ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɲʊ́ an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

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ɛ́bʊ skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
ɛ́cɛ́ɲɛ́ɛ́ loin-cloth for women.
ɛ́ɛ́ɲɛ́ɛ́ front-cloth for women.
dɛ́ɛ́ skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

291 ●
301

yǯr skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
dyɔ́mɛ̀ ear-rings of tin.
pwǯ̀ɲ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, foot.
pwǯ̀ɲ yǯ̀ ear-ring.
yǯ̀l bracelet for the wrist.
yǯ̀k knee-ring of skin.
dyǯ̀k brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
ɟɟɛ́ɔ ivory ring
ɔ́kɔ́ɔ ivory ring.
wǯ̀ ivory ring carved in conical form.
ɔ́wǯ̀ɟ́ ivory ring, a small strip.
ɔ́wɟ́mɛ́ ivory ring, big.
ɔ́ryɔ̀ knee-bells, used in dancing.
dɛ́ɲɛ́ a small bell.
dɛ́ɛ́ɛ́m bell, similar to *ɔ́ryɔ̀*.
ɟɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɟ́ dancing-bell
ɔ́kɔ́ɔ cow-bell, used in dancing.
ɔ́ɟɟɔ́ small cow-bell.
ɟɟɔ́, tɔ́ɟɟɛ́ a common name for beads.
ɔ́mɔ́mɟ́ɔ́ blue beads, worn by women.
ɔ́ɟ̀ ostrich shell beads.
ɟɔ́r big beads, worn on the neck by men.
kɔ́l ɟɔ́ɟɛ́ a kind of beads.
ɟɔ́ɟ́ a kind of small beads.
ɟɔ́ɟ́ green beads, round, small.
ɔ́kɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́kɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
kɔ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́kɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ white beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ black beads.
kɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́wɟ́ɟ́ blue beads.
yɔ́r red beads.
ɔ́dwɔ́ɟ́ yellow beads.
wɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
yɔ́ɟɟ cowry shell.
ɔ́ɔ́wɟ́ɟ́ a string for tying together clothes.
ɟɔ́ɔ́ a kind of button worn in the hair.
wɔ́ɔ́ brown giraffe-tail hairs.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ white giraffe-tail hairs.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ tooth-brush.
dwɔ́ɟ́ a head-dress.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a head-dress.
dɔ́ɔ́ a head-dress.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a head-dress, "like a shield".
ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ a head-dress, "like a shield".
ɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ bleached hair, long.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a chain, worn as ornament.
ɟɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ rattle, made of leaves of the doleib, tied on leg or loin.
ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ } arm-ring of ambach.
ɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ɔ́ }
wǯ̀ loin-ring.
ɔ́kɔ́ ɟɔ́wɟ́ "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

233
552

ɟɔ́ɔ́ cow; common name. Plural: *ɟɟɔ́* cattle.
wɔ́ɟ bull.
ɔ́ɟɔ́ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm.

Clothes.

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Anfertigkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleidung."(9) He also writes "Abgesehen der Mann in Shillukländer fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Anzug in dieser Hinsicht anders." (9) and "Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesen Völke, welchen christlichen Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich abzuzeichnen. Bevorzugt kann man die Festtracht der Shilluk von diesen Seite als verschwenderisch bezeichnen." (9). During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes, this being that the Shilluk were always dressed - at times as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (10) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmayer.(11) But the question is that this is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It standsunique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women, quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 40 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all nilotes attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress, (12) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Shelluk. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cwl, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, ordered himself, and " Auch vollzogener Leichtung kleidete Cwl sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history.

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married.

There is also a traditional economy of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineages hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LUO with the king "personally putting this robe over the juge's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be

[13] "much greater attention and predilection has always been paid to circumcision, to little care for the children"

[17] " while the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[18] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, a sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

invested with a LEIL, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
(26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LEIL plays a symbolic role in the
Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters
of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize
Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural
characteristics of the Shilluk, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and
to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past
that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the
Shilluk.

Notes.

(1) Seligman, C.G., & B. Z.,[Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932
p.40
(2) Hofmayer, A., The Shilluk, Anz 1927, p 247).
(3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948, p.817)
(5) Ibid, pp. 822/823
(6) Ibid, p. 818
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 9)
(9) Hofmayer A., The Shilluk, Anz 1927, p 9)
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11
London 1934, pp. 319/327)
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligman, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No 4 & 5, and A 4, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "C"
(15) see above , table "C", serial No 8), he was the son of King Fiu, who adopted
the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmayer, A., The Shilluk, Anz 1927, p 244
(19) Ibid, p. 247
(20) Ibid, p. 240
(21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw
spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) never does he said that
" the inhabitants of a village, Fetmaer, went a courting several leagues in
length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is
not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmayer, A., 1927, p 245/246
(23) This is the sum I have observed; the Shilluk who range under the influence
of missions or who are converted to Christianity wear European shirts and
shirts, and the Shilluk who are converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white
dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmayer, Anz 1927, p 22
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1952,
p. 28
(26) Ibid, p 28
(27) There is a similar ceremony among the Nuer of investing the new chiefs with
a leaf dress.

T.Tucker R-6 (1919-1933) 1933

F321 Shelfish F321
Bag: F35
M.Ha F318

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XV.

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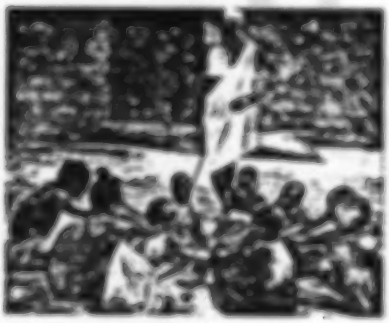

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS OF THE SOUTHERN STOCK.

[illegible]

7.Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 "FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Dinka FJ2
Lotuko FJ17

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVI

AD
S
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FIG. 1.—SHILLUK PLAYING "LOOK AND HIDE."

FIG. 2.—DINKA PLAYING "LOOK AND HIDE."

FIG. 3.—"HIS HANDS" ABOVE THE LATTICE.

FIG. 4.—"THE FORBIDDEN FIRES OPENING" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"HANDS HIDING EYES BLIND" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 6.—"HANDS CREATE EYES" (SHILLUK).

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

C p. 167(a)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande FJ7
Lohiko FJ17
Ina FJ14

AL JS 291 S24 T97 SIL

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVIII.

FIG. 1.—DANCE "GOMA."

FIG. 2.—DANCE "GOMA."

FIG. 3.—DANCE "GOMA."

FIG. 4.—DANCE "GOMA."

FIG. 5.—DANCE "GOMA."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

CP. 187(d)

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cigâ) "my wife."

If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, "Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women?"

After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, "Do you have a name?" If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, "Is that his name now?"

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, "His property is on the ground (junɛ̂ ya pîŋ). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukî).

People who are of the same age are called (tîŋ ayɛ̂). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to develop (tîŋ atwî) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her.

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season.

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rok) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rok?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox.

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a bgña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rok, as the chief of the village is crowned. In

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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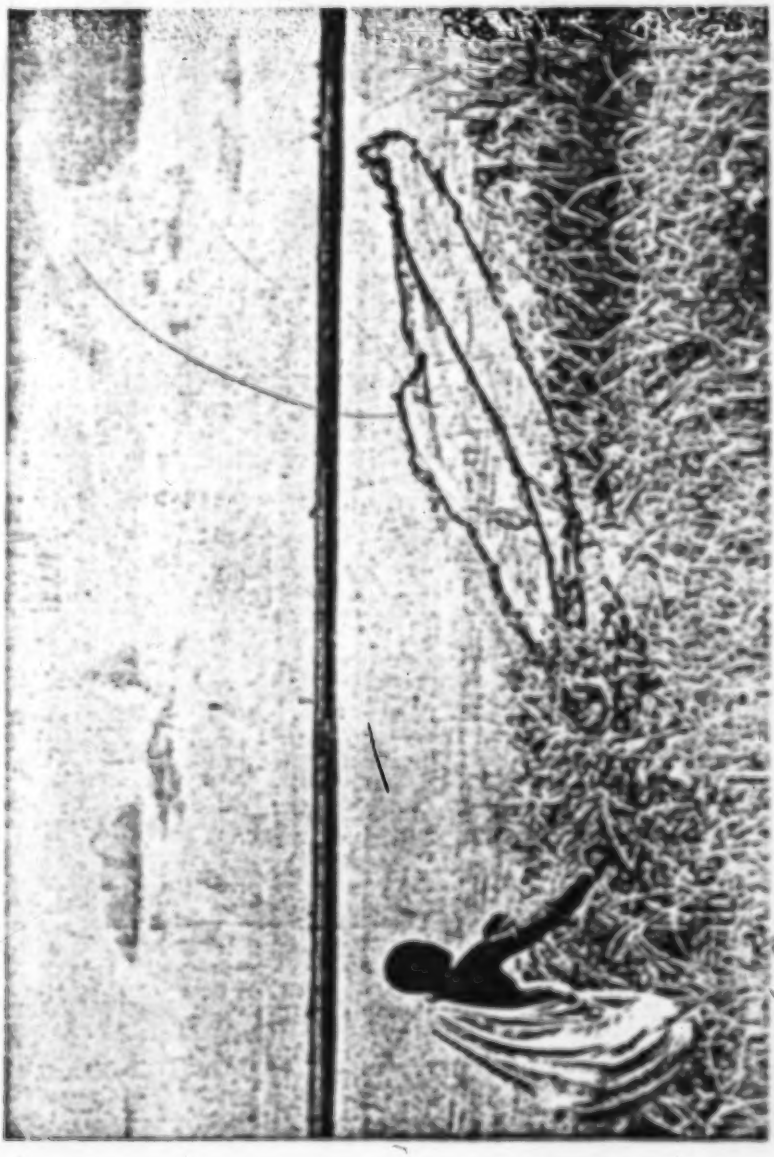

[FACING p. viii]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 881 [534] The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. [554] The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal [281] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and [411] sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small [714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round [301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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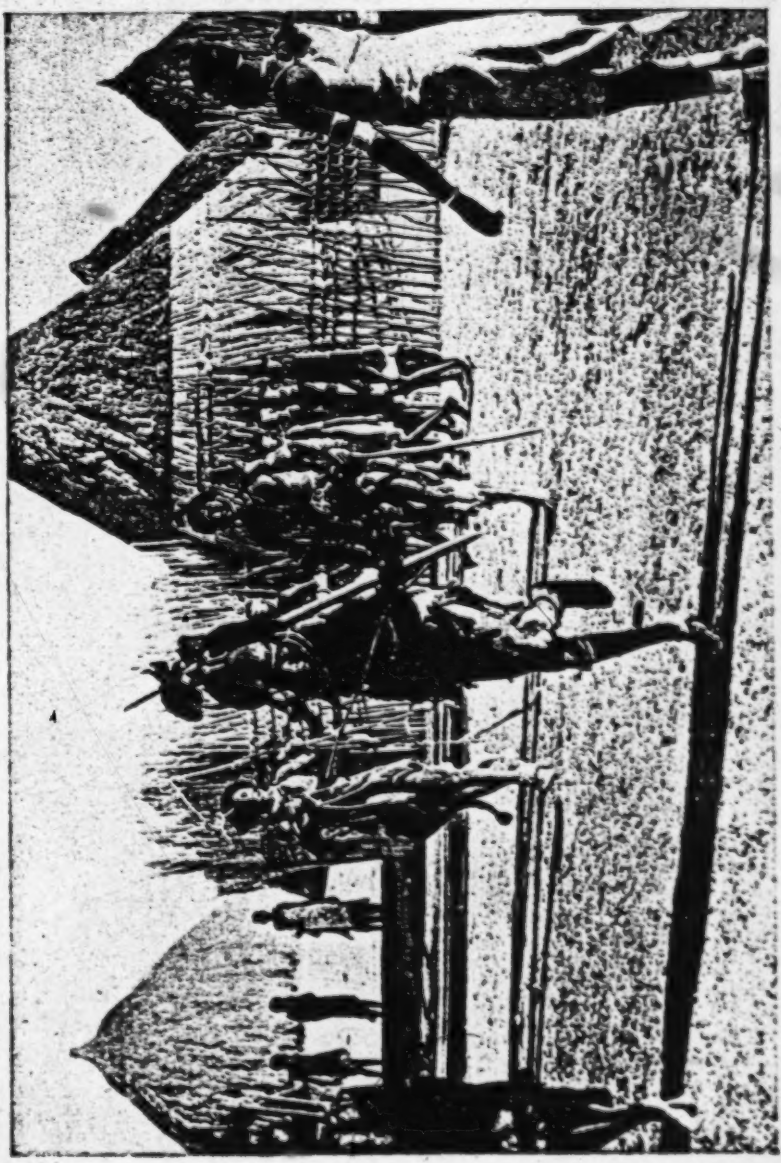

[p. 62 D]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.

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1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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2.—The drums of Fabii.
There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The Funeral Dance of Reth Fashil.
(Second day)

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3.—A Shilluk regiment enters the village of the late *reth*.

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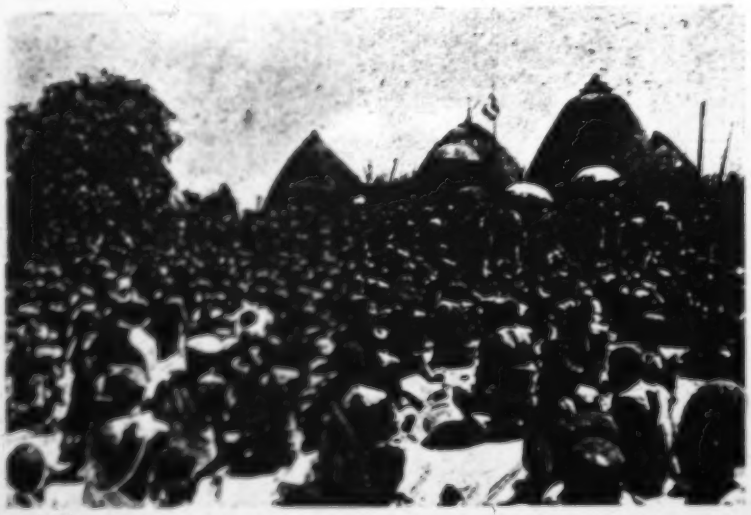

4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late *reth*.

[FACING p. 26]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE MARCH OF NYIKANG AND DAK TO NYIGIR.

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1.—Dak leads, borne by his bearers. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

[342]

2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of *Kwik Fulôi*.

[FACING P. 40]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FIRST DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.

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1.—DEBALO. Just before the march to Fashoda.
The *reth* dressed in white with a dark sash is standing outside his quarters awaiting the gathering of his warriors.

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2.—ANEREJOK. Casting the black bull over which the *reth* must step before the crowning.

[FACING P. 51]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shiluk FJ23

Speech Day.

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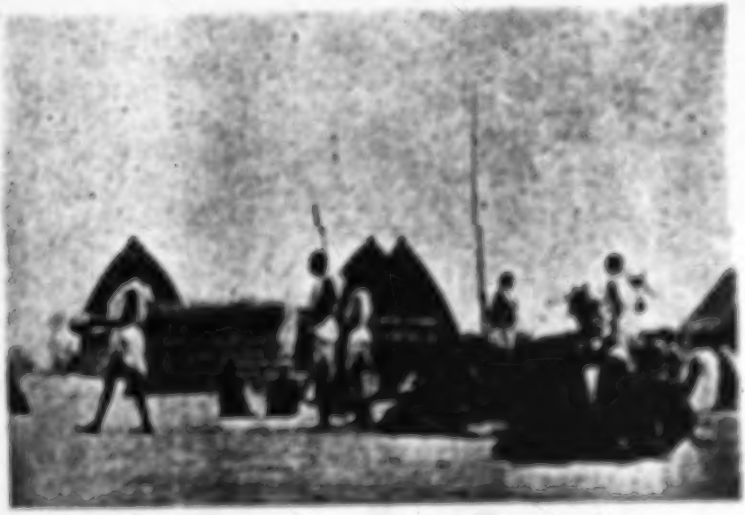
1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the exit as a sign of homage.



2.—The exit's party before Atarwin, with the spears and shield of Tyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING P 70]

PLATE 16. The Anse Nyikir entered the village of Kojo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

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Nyikang and Dak advance to meet the Reth's forces.

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At Debnio. The Reth Stops over a bull before his departure.

[FACING P. 196]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Opposite Foolards. The Jaw Nyikwom lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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The substitution on the mast. Nyikang has withdrawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the mast underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. N. Downie

[FACING p. 117]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives come dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ya bio, ya bio* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fališi was taken across in his tarar (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fališi gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fališi, who in accordance with custom was dressed in the ordinary Shilluk loo (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel[1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then met. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nyo Kwor (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of town).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kolo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the meal for the Tebi (fourth season). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (*cf.* Westermann, p. 129 *et seq.*, lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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By courtesy of C. Rev. J. P. Crazzolara

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. 111]
[frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennedy

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chap nearest the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Detwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 26]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Beauty spot

Chatty girl

Bangle-giants, profile

Bangle-giants, front view

Photos: M. F. Dempsey

Shilluk hair-styles
[facing p. 21]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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411
[516]

A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory bracelets: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair styles: five "soup-plates" in different stages of growth

Photo: P. C. Sylvester

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding
[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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516

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p. 85]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 747
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Sisters' Convent, Detwok. Sister gives catechism class

[facing p. 116]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Nurse Indermaur gives an injection at Derwok

[facing p.177]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

461 And often enough, that is just what does happen. The 797 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the 797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 399 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them 797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line